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Top to bottom: Timalarua, the canoe maker; Tiwi spears; mourning ceremony around grave posts.

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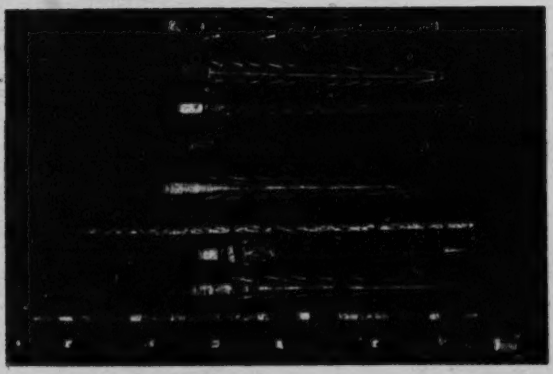

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1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
OI20 Tiwi OI20

(Australian aborigines from the mainland) they were not Tiwi and hence not real people, or at least not human enough to share the islands with the chosen people who owned them.

Thus, the word "Tiwi" did not mean "people" in the sense of all human beings, but rather "we, the only people," or the chosen people who live on and own the islands, as distinct from any other alleged human beings who might show up from time to time on the beaches. This exclusion of outsiders from real "us-ness" and hence from real "human-ness" was continued when the Europeans began to arrive in the early nineteenth century, and certainly as late as 1930 the Tiwi continued to call and think of themselves as Tiwi, *the* people, and to use other words for all non-Tiwi, whether they were mainland aborigines, Malay fishermen, Japanese pearl-divers, French priests, or British officials, who penetrated into their exclusive little cosmos.

Their firm tradition that the twenty-five miles of ocean were adequate to isolate them from the mainland is confirmed by certain objective distributional evidence. Several characteristic features of mainland native technology were absent on Melville and Bathurst Islands, notably the spear thrower and the curved (or return) boomerang. To anthropologists, the idea of an Australian tribe lacking spear throwers and curved boomerangs is almost a contradiction in terms, and the only feasible explanation is isolation and hence failure of these mainland traits to diffuse to the islands.[1]

That no culture stands absolutely still in its technology no matter how isolated it may be is suggested by the fact that the Tiwi, while lacking the spear thrower and curved boomerang of the mainland, elaborated their wooden spears to a complexity of design and a degree of decoration unknown on the mainland, and also developed a much greater assortment of straight throwing sticks, made of hardwood, than any mainland tribe. Moreover, their carved and elaborately painted grave posts are unique among Australian tribes, and point up both the Tiwi isolation from the mainland and the favorable food situation which permitted the leisure time necessary to manufacture the elaborate posts as well as the elaborate ceremonial spears. In the nontechnological aspects of their culture we find in many respects the same absence of mainland traits and the same elaboration of traits that were distinctively or even uniquely Tiwi. Male initiation ceremonies on the mainland focus upon circumcision or subincision or both; neither custom was practiced by the Tiwi, who instead included in their initiation ritual the forcible plucking out of the pubic hair of the novice. The degree of plural marriages achieved under their marriage rules was far greater than anything reported for the mainland; the absolute prohibition of any female, regardless of age, being without a husband was unknown elsewhere in Australia; certain features of the kinship system fail to conform to any of the mainland norms, and so on. Wherever we look in their culture we get the strong impression of an Aus-

[1] A toy spear thrower, played with by children, was in use, but this may be the result of post-white contact. Its native name—*pani*—seems most un-Tiwi, and a likely guess is that it was introduced by Cooper's mainlanders, being accepted as a toy for children but scorned as childish by the adult men.

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
OI20 Tiwi OI20

The matter of men traveling to distant camps for ceremonials illuminates again, and from a new angle, the great value of elderly widows in the household. Tu'untalumi, during his visit to Malau in August, was able to split his household efficiently by taking a couple of old wives with him to supervise his young wives on the journey and leaving other old wives at home in Tangio to begin storing up food for the grass-burning project which he intended to stage on his return. It will be noticed in the account of his movements that he began issuing invitations to the grass burning on his way home from Malau, showing his confidence that the elderly wives he had left at home would have the preparations well in hand during his absence. A big man with a big household really needed three or four elderly widows because these enabled him to split his work force in various ways as his various political and social obligations required and to be sure of trustworthy supervision of each of the segments. A man without widows in his household, or with only one, could not do this; in fact, it was hard for a man without widows to attend ceremonials at all, or even to receive a large party of visitors to his household. And, as we have already pointed out, since such a man would probably go hungry very often because he would not dare to send his unsupervised young wives into the bush to gather food, there were practically no such men nor such households. Widows were indispensable to a senior Tiwi, both in his public and in his private life.

Making Things

Throughout this chapter we have been stressing the contrast between the dull routine of life in an isolated Tiwi household during the greater part of the year and the sort of life typical on those relatively rare occasions when something special—a festival, a funeral, a fight, a grass burning, a naming ceremony, some collective phase of men's initiation—required the assembling together of several households for joint activity. Before leaving the daily life of the isolated camp, we should mention one other area of activity—namely, the manufacturing activities of the tribe. The Tiwi did not manufacture much, but spears, throwing sticks, canoes, digging sticks, baskets, bodily ornaments, graveposts, and all the miscellaneous paraphernalia used in ceremonials had to be made in whatever leisure time people could find during the long weeks and months when each of the households lived more or less in isolation from the others. Crude and simple as these artifacts were, their construction required time, and only the older men had the time and the skill based on experience to make the more important of them.

Largely because of their failing eyesight, the older men hunted very little and hence tended to remain in camp all day while the young men were hunting and the women were gathering. There were, of course, some old men who took advantage of this time to do little except doze in the shade, but most of the household heads spent a fairly active day in camp engaged in making things. Here we find another aspect of Tiwi culture that results from

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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the relatively favorable food supply. Some of the Tiwi artifacts, particularly the highly decorative graveposts and ceremonial spears, are unique among Australian tribes, and the carving and painting of these graveposts and spears were skills possessed only by the senior men. They were provided with the leisure time necessary to develop and use these skills by the efficiency in food production of the large household which all old men were expected to accumulate with age, and which many old men did succeed in accumulating. We said earlier that the bigger the household, the better its members ate. We now add the further correlation that the bigger the household, the more leisure time was provided for its head to engage in manufacturing and artistic production. Tu'untalumi has been cited as an example of a large household head (twelve resident wives and thirteen children at home in 1928-29) who loved ceremonial affairs. It would be wrong to infer from this that Tu'untalumi only loved going to parties. He also loved preparing for them, and this preparation (for him as for all other senior men) included the manufacture of ceremonial spears, the preparation of graveposts, and the composition of songs and dances. In the long dull periods between trips outside his home district, he spent most of the days and many of the nights in the creation of these ceremonial necessities. He was not a full-time specialist in the sense that he made spears or posts to exchange with other men who had neither the time nor the skill—the rules of kinship required that every senior man make his own ceremonial spears and contract for his own posts. Tu'untalumi manufactured his graveposts to meet his own ritual obligations, but he took a more magnanimous view of those obligations than did most men. Put in our terms, we might say that he was wealthy enough (in the size of his household) to be generous with his own productions. One example of this attitude was his attendance at funerals that other men of equal kinship to the deceased did not find it necessary to attend; his frequent contribution of an extra gravepost to those provided by the chief mourners of the deceased was a similar gesture. "Tu'untalumi not only came to our mother's funeral, he also made a gravepost for it" was a very gratifying reflection for an obscure group of mourners to cherish among their memories, and of course it was acts of this sort that made the old man so well liked and admired. The economic point of the matter, however, is that only a man with as large a household as his could afford the gesture of giving away, in a situation where kinship obligations did not demand it, a gravepost that required about a week's full-time work.

It was, however, sad to observe that as an artistic producer Tu'untalumi, like many intellectuals in other cultures, tended to operate in too many media. His work as a composer of songs and dances was universally admired, but his graveposts, while appreciated, were not regarded as being as outstanding, technically speaking, as those of another old man, his crony Timalarua. In personality, Timalarua, a successful household head (eleven living wives, ten children at home), was quiet spoken, placid, and only mildly gregarious, and he is mainly of interest because in his leisure-time activity he paid but routine attention to song and dance compositions and concentrated rather single mindedly on making canoes, ceremonial spears, and graveposts. Fre-

quently, on the banks of some creek or river in Tiklauila territory, a party wanting to cross would scout around and find a canoe hidden in the weeds. Everybody would use it to cross, and the question "Whose canoe is it?" would elicit the reply, "Oh, it's always there and everybody uses it who wishes to cross." But if the question were "Who made it in the first place and put it there?" the answer would be, "Probably Timalarua. He likes making canoes; he makes them all the time." He also liked making spears and posts, though he was not as generous with them as Tu'untalumi. When one of his posts appeared at a funeral, people would point it out admiringly saying, "Timalarua made that one" and the speaker would trace the lines and designs on it with his finger, using much the same gestures as an art critic in a modern gallery. When a post by Tu'untalumi was identified and admired, however, the admiration was for Tu'untalumi the generous person rather than Tu'untalumi the artist. One was a wonderful craftsman, the other was a wonderful man. But acclaim given to the song and dance performances of the two men was just the reverse: the dances of Timalarua were adequate but not outstanding, those of Tu'untalumi were in a class by themselves.

Comparison of the activities of these two old men illustrates the impossibility of drawing any line, in the simpler cultures at least, between artistic production and technological production. The canoes and the posts manufactured by Timalarua and the posts manufactured and the new dances created by Tu'untalumi were all, so to speak, in the same category, as far as the Tiwi were concerned. The distinction we might make between the canoes as "useful" products and the posts and dances as ceremonial or artistic products never occurred to them. All were objects or products which only successful old men had the required skill and leisure to make. The fact that one old man liked to make canoes and leave them around for other people to use, and another old man liked to compose dances and perform his compositions widely for other people to enjoy, to them merely indicated individual taste and choice; it did not make the first a craftsman and the second an artist. This point has been overlooked in most of the theorizing about primitive art; perhaps a necessary first step in the development of primitive artists is for a society to be able to provide a few men with enough leisure time to be able to cultivate what might perhaps best be called hobbies, since a hobby can equally well be something "useful" to society, like canoe making, or something personally satisfying, like dancing or decorating graveposts.

The huge, heavy, painted spears made by these old Tiwi men were mainly used only for display, and even the oldest men were positive that this had always been the tradition. In fact, they seemed a little shocked at the implication that such beautiful and valuable objects could ever have been used for such mundane purposes as hunting or warfare. The cutting and painting of such spears took time and skill—more time than a gravepost—and no important man went to the smallest gathering without bearing on his shoulder at least half a dozen of these symbols of his importance. If on his way through the bush he sighted a kangaroo, he dropped his painted spears and stalked the animal with an ordinary spear, or more probably left it to the young men in the party who carried only ordinary ones.

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
OI20 Tiwi OI20

in the party who carried only ordinary ones. The painted spears were symbols of wealth and status and roughly corresponded to white tie and tails in our culture. No important man could afford not to have them, even though for most of the year they were unused. Before leaving home on a journey, it was often necessary for a man to renew the paint on his spears, for it rubbed off easily. Since paint was an aspect of ritual, its use, even the renewal of old paint, was senior men's prerogative; women were not supposed to touch it.[8] The analogy with formal dress even extended to the borrowing of ceremonial spears. An important man, caught short of them, might borrow some from a contemporary who had plenty, and though everybody would know that his spears were borrowed, he at least was properly dressed for the occasion, though stark naked otherwise.

Baskets made of bark with gummed sides were made by the women, but the painted designs upon these baskets were applied by the men, in line with their monopoly on all work that required paint. These baskets of various sizes but little variation in shape were used for all domestic tasks involving the collection, storing, transporting, and preparing of vegetable foods, and were sufficiently watertight to enable water also to be carried in them. Ordinary wooden spears (without barbs or painted designs) and a great variety of throwing sticks were made by all men, young or old, but important old men bothered with them very little, considering such routine manufacture beneath them. These workaday spears and throwing sticks lay around every camp in abundance, and a man who needed spears or sticks in a hurry could always gather up a bundle in a few minutes. Small boys picked up the techniques of making spears and throwing sticks by spending time with older boys who in turn improved their skill both in making and using hunting weapons by spending time with the local young men.

Although much of this learning was fairly random, other instruction was not. During his initiation period a youth spent long intervals isolated in the bush with a couple of older teachers from whom he received training in religious and ritual matters. At the same time, of course, it was inevitable that the novice absorb some of the older men's experience in bushcraft. There was no corresponding initiation period for girls. What they learned, they learned first from the older women of their childhood household and later from the older women of the husband's household into which they moved as child-brides after puberty. In all households the supervision by the elderly women of all younger women included the training of both female children and young wives in the things all females should know—things which were mostly concerned with collecting and preparing vegetable foods and the making of baskets.

In pre-white times Tiwi males wore no clothing whatever. The Mission insisted on calico loincloths, but, at least in the 1928-29 period, one could

[8] Female mourners were required to daub their bodies with white clay as a sign of mourning, but this paint was smeared haphazardly over their bodies and faces without any attempt at regularity or design, in contrast to the careful paint designs on the men's bodies.

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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pennant, and the Wanderers, which draws from the permanent native population in Darwin and includes such Tiwi as Bobby Wilson. It is normal for one of these Tiwi players to be considered among the top three in Darwin football circles. 177 526 648

For a while, Edmund, a Tiwi from Bathurst Island Mission, was one of the players on the newly organized St. Mary's basketball team; other Tiwi have played on the Bagot Compound basketball team. Billy Larrakeyah, a Darwin Tiwi, was thought to have Olympic potentialities as a javelin thrower, but strained his arm in the try-outs.[6] Most recently, a group of young Catholic Tiwi has been organized into a water polo team called the Seals. National magazines suggest that they may be the best water polo team in the country, but so far they have not gone south to play any non-Darwin group.

Tiwi carving and painting have had recent popularity in Australian art circles. Traditional Tiwi graveposts are finely carved in geometric designs and painted with precise and complex networks of cross-hatching and other simple, but effective, motifs. The first modern innovation in Tiwi art occurred about 1945 when a native known as Katu (or Short Katu) made his first attempt to carve a human figure atop a mourning post. When Pilling later asked Katu why he had carved this post, he said, "Me see 'm along Darwin. Me savvy." That is, Katu transferred the concept of Western realistic statuary in the round into the Tiwi art form. He carved a second realistic post for presentation to Queen Elizabeth II in 1954. More recently, Tiwi carvers at Snake Bay have taken to realistic carving. Two figurines, both carved by Tiwi at Snake Bay, were given to the Perth Museum in 1958. Sixteen mourning posts from Snake Bay were purchased by the National Art Gallery in Sydney the same year. An art display of Tiwi carving has been held in the United States in Philadelphia. 177 532 322

Tiwi have received recognition in the Northern Territory for other art forms. One of the thirty-year-old female Tiwi at Bathurst Island Mission usually takes first prize for embroidery at the annual Territorial fair. There has also been interest shown by outsiders in the double-barbed ceremonial spears. Male Tiwi skill in dancing has attracted wide attention in Australia. When natives from all over the Territory were sent to dance before Queen Elizabeth in Queensland during her 1954 tour, three Tiwi were among the delegation. The Tiwi contingent, directed by the innovator Short Katu, made every news story covering this part of the Royal Visit. In Darwin, when Bagot Compound needs to raise money for native participation in sports, the Tiwi, usually led by Katu, present a public dance. As a result, Katu's clan under his direction has invented many new dances for white Australian audiences. 177 [531] 177 535 648

Perhaps we may look forward to the day when American television audiences can enjoy such a Tiwi dance, one of Australia's best native products. Yet only sixty years ago, and therefore in the lifetime of many people still living, very few Tiwi had even seen a white man, and white men who set foot on Tiwi soil, like Cooper in his first attempt in 1897, were ferociously chased out.

[6] He was killed in a brawl in Darwin in the spring of 1959.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

CHAPTER I

The Art of the Tiwi

1. THE ART FORMS

ALTHOUGH Melville Island is separated from the mainland of Australia by the Dundas Strait, only fourteen miles in width, the art forms on either side of this swift-running tideway bear little resemblance to each other. That of the mainland, of which the bark and cave paintings of Oenpelli are typical (Mountford, 1956, pp. 112–264; Spencer, 1928, pp. 802–24), is representational, and among the most decorative art forms employed by the Australian aborigines, while that of Melville Island is highly formalized, and cannot be interpreted without the aid of the artist. In this respect (although they employ different motifs) the art of the Melville Islanders resembles that of the aborigines of Central Australia (Mountford, 1937, pp. 84–95).

2. MEDIUMS OF EXPRESSION

The aborigines of Melville Island,[5] like those on the mainland (Spencer, 1928, p. 793) painted designs on the inside of the sheets of bark that made up their wet-weather shelters. Basedow (1913, p. 320, Pls. 19–20) figured bark paintings he collected from bark shelters on Melville Island, and Campbell (1834, p. 151), referring to shelters he saw near Fort Dundas (Punata), in Apsley Straits, writes, "Some of them were ornamented with figures drawn in white pipeclay; one, in particular, was neatly and regularly done all over, representing the cross-bars of a cell."[6]

Under normal tribal conditions, however, it is in the carving and painting of the elaborate burial poles and the ceremonial spears, coupled with the decorating of the large bark baskets, that the aborigines of Melville Island find an outlet for their artistic efforts.

The effect of the *pukamuni* burial ceremony was evident in many of the bark paintings collected on the expedition. For example, Pl. 3D, Pl. 54F, and Pl. 54A, are essentially the same designs as a Melville Island artist would use to

[5] For the sake of simplicity I will, in future, use the term, Melville Island, or the tribal name, Tiwi, to indicate the Melville and Bathurst Island culture, both of which are part of the same tribal unit.

[6] This would have been a design similar to that on bark painting (Pl. 52D).

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2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

531 decorate a burial pole; and others, Pl. 2D, Pl. 10C, and Pl. 11A, similar to those he would paint on the ceremonial baskets.

I did not see or hear of figures being made in bark (Mountford, 1956, p. 443, fig. 65C, D); moulded in wax (Elkin and the Berndts, 1950, Pl. 21, Mountford, 1956, Pl. 143) or in the sands of the sea-shore (Mountford, 1956, p. 404, Pl. 91C, D), as is done in north-eastern Arnhem Land. Nevertheless, [532] the men did carve large burial poles in the form of human beings and smaller full-length figures, associated with the *pukamuni* ceremonies. These figures bore some small resemblance to those recorded from north-eastern Arnhem Land (Berndt, 1948, Figs. A, B, Pls. 1, 2; Mountford, 1956, Pls. 130–40).

3. TECHNIQUES

386 (*a*) COLOURS. The pigments used for the decoration of the burial poles and the production of the bark paintings, were red, yellow and white ochres. As there was no suitable black pigment on the islands, the artists used crushed charcoal in its place.

[317] The source of the best ochres is a pit at Imilu on Cape Van Diemen (Fig. 1). This ochre, called *imilu*, is a bright yellow when collected,[7] but, when heated in the fire, it changes to a clear red. A soft white stone is common along the beaches. The ochres are not ground on a stone, as on the mainland (Mountford, 1956, p. 11), but, being friable, are crushed and mixed in a large cockle shell with water and fixative.

The aborigines often spoke of a superior ochre at Numanira, northern Melville Island (Fig. 1), which could be gathered only at low tide. I did not see any of this ochre in use.

(*b*) FIXATIVES. Three different types of fixative are used to ensure that the painted designs, both on the poles and the baskets, were as permanent as [314] possible. They were: the sticky gelatinous sap of one of the tree orchids (*Dendrobium* sp.); the wax and honey of the wild bee, well mixed together; [237] and the yolks of the eggs of the sea-going turtle. The fixative was either mixed with the pigments or rubbed on the painting surface.

412 (*c*) BRUSHES. Simple brushes, made of strips of bark of varying widths, square across the bottom, chewed at one end, and held as in Fig. 2A and 2C, were used for the bulk of the work.[8] For making the dots, however, the artists used a

[423] [7] There did not appear to be any restriction on the gathering of this ochre; any aboriginal could go to Imilu and take as much as he wished.

[171] [8] The long flexible brush of the aborigines of Arnhem Land (Mountford, 1956, p. 12, fig. 3), was not used at Melville Island, although the bark brush (Fig. 2B) was often held in a similar manner.

2: Mountford E-ɔ (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

412 short, cylindrical stick, about three-sixteenths of an inch in diameter. This was dipped in the colour and transferred to the painting surface with the brush held as in Fig. 2B.

FIG. 2. *Methods of Holding Brushes*

4. THE ARTISTS

531 [463] [302] As with other aboriginal groups with whom I have worked in Central and Northern Australia, there is no special artist class; all aboriginal men and women of the Tiwi, would, on occasions, be required to paint designs on the bodies of one or another of their relatives, or on objects, particularly those associated with the *pukamuni* ceremony.

Some men, however, were looked upon as being more skilled than others in some particular field, i.e., cutting and decorating the burial poles, or the ceremonial spears, painting the large bark baskets, or the bodies of men and women who take part in the *pukamuni* or *kulama* ceremonies.

On Pl. 1 are four men who were regarded as good craftsmen and artists.

Pulanimbuwi (Pl. 1A), hard-working and meticulous in all he did, produced the unusual *pukamuni* pole (Pl. 35); two other poles as human figures (Pl. 37A, B; 37E, F), and a number of bark paintings; Pl. 13B, D, and Pl. 14C, D, being typical.

Inbidjarmeri (Pl. 1B), being fully employed by the Superintendent of the nearby settlement, was unable to make bark paintings for me. He was most expert in carving and painting the beautiful, multi-barked ceremonial spears. Pl. 32B is his work. He was also in great demand for decorating the performers for the *pukamuni* and *kulama* ceremonies. Pl. 28K and Pl. 28R are examples of his craftsmanship in this field.

115 *Tjamalampua* (Pl. 1C) and *Malumerinita* (Pl. 1D) are two men to whom I

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

announced that he had bought enough food from the store at the settlement to feed all the men who were to cut the poles.[61]

Following this announcement, the chief woman mourner, *Prupadau*, whose privilege it was to decide on the size of the burial poles, marked with her toe, in the dust of the *milimika*, the length and thickness of a series of oversized poles.

This led to a great deal of discussion between the leader, *Wurarbuti*, and the woman, *Prupadau*, before he finally persuaded her to reduce the dimensions of the poles to a reasonable size. *Prupadau* wanted the poles for her relative to be as many and as large as possible.

This matter settled, the "workers" brought a number of steel axes into the *milimika*. The *alouwia*, painting the handles white and putting red cross lines on the blades, stood the axes in the centre of the dancing ground. Then both the *alouwia* and the other performers walked around the axes singing the telephone song.

A series of traditional dances followed, representing *Jirakati*, the white-headed sea-eagle (Pl. 30j), *Puruti*, the sea-osprey, and *Tjalati*, the jabiru (Pl. 29A).[62] Two women and two young boys performed the shark (*Taduwala*) dance (Pl. 25c), the ritual finishing with the honey and mosquito calls. The "workers" picked up their axes and walked away, accompanied by everyone except *Prupadau*, who remained behind, still chanting the *amburu* song of mourning.

(*b*) *The Second Ilanias*

The second series of *ilanias* was performed about halfway between *Wurarbuti's* camp and the burial ground.

In this series, we were able to see the traditional pattern of the *ilanias* in operation, including the return and feeding of the "workers" after their day's labour of cutting the poles near the grave site. The songs and dances, too, instead of referring, as in the first *ilanias*, to the goods of the white man, his radio and his telephones, dealt almost exclusively with dances belonging to the locality of Wallu, north-eastern Melville Island, the country of *Waniamperi's* father and the totemic place of fresh water, *Andjalui* (p. 42).

This series of *ilanias* could be divided into five sections,

[61] At the present time, this is just a traditional gesture, reminiscent of the days when it was the duty of the *pukamuni* group to feed the workers while they cut and painted the poles (Pl. 25B).

[62] In a creation myth, the jabiru is called *Tipuru-undunga*. It is likely that the bird has several names. Hart (1930, p. 280), draws attention to the multiplicity of names among the Tiwi.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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A B C D

PLATE 26. *The Final Pukamuni Rituals*
A, Erecting Poles on Grave; B, Arranging Gifts for Workers; C, The Basket Dance; D, Urumatjina's Dance.

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2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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PLATE 32. *Ceremonial Objects and Burial Poles*
A, Male Pukamuni Spear, Tunkaringa; B, Female Pukamuni Spear, Tunkaguni; C, Forked Throwing Stick, Miluanta; D, Plain Throwing Stick, Muruguna; E, G, Tool, Porta, for Body Painting; F, Scratching Stick, Murubunga; H, J, Pukamuni Burial Poles.

[p. 88 D]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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All the facial designs, about which I was able to find out the meanings (except Pl. 28B), dealt with some totemic creature, or myth. This was in direct contrast to the designs painted on the *tudini* burial poles, where few, if any, were associated with the myths or the totemic places.

A Wadjeniati Initiate

Pl. 28A is the facial design of a *Wadjeniati* initiate in the *kulama* ceremony (p. 130). The white dots represent a white edible plum, *murumbatana*, the red dots, a small red fruit, *kupalitju*, and the lines, the limbs of the trees on which the fruit grew. The white around the eyes and on the forehead is symbolical of *Purutjikini*, the boobook owl-man (*Ninox novae-zealandiae*), the leader of the second *kulama* ceremony.

The Poisonous Water Snake, Tuluma

Pl. 28B, a facial *pukamuni* design, symbolizes the markings on the skin of a poisonous water snake, *tuluma*. Although I neglected to ask the aborigines whether there was any myth associated with this facial decoration, it is likely that the design refers to an incident in creation times.

The Shark, Tuduwala

At *Purukupali's pukamuni*, the shark-man, *Tuduwala*, represented on Pl. 28C, painted his face so that he would appear as ferocious as possible. The radiating lines round his eyes were supposed to have added greatly to his savage appearance. After the *pukamuni*, *Tuduwala* fought with *Kumuninu*, the salmon man, because the latter, although he had a large number of hair-belts, refused to give any to *Tuduwala*.

Although the shark-man escaped injury in that encounter, he wounded the fish-man a number of times with his throwing sticks, wounds which can still be seen, as parallel lines, on the head of the salmon (see Pl. 28F).

The Fish, Mungumini

Pl. 28D is a facial design, called *Mungumini*, worn at the *pukamuni* of *Purukupali* by a fish of the same name. The markings on the face are supposed to be similar to those on the head of the present-day fish.

The Thunder-man, Pakadringa

Pl. 28E, a *pukamuni* facial design, refers to the man of the thunderstorms, *Pakadringa*, and the dangerous *Maratji* (p. 154), both of whom are closely associated in the myths.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

765 778 Pl. 32 illustrates a number of objects used in the *pukamuni* and *kulama* rituals.

[411] [531] Pl. 32A, B, are two of the beautifully carved ceremonial spears known respectively as the male *pukamuni* spear, *tunkaringa*, and the female spear, *tunkaguni*. These are made purely as a gift to the dead, they appear to have no other function.

[114] [322] [412] At the time of Spencer's visit to Melville Island during 1911, the aborigines told him that these spears were cut with cockle shells. During 1920 a Melville Island man in Darwin gave me the same information, adding that the making of a double-sided female spear, 32B, with shell tools occupied an old man about three months, and the single-sided male spear, 32A, about two.

Pl. 32C is the forked throwing stick, *miluanta*, with which *Tjapara*, the moon-man injured *Purukupali*, and 32D, the plain throwing stick, *murugunu*. These are used in the *kulama* and *pukamuni* rituals, as well as for hunting and in personal quarrels.

[302] [413] Pl. 32E, G, are two interesting tools called *portas*, used for printing lines of dots on the bodies of the men and women. The colour is crushed to a thin paste, spread on a flat rock, and the *porta* rocked backward and forward in the paint to load the *porta*. The *porta* is then rocked on the body printing a line of dots.[88]

[515] [413] Pl. 32F is a curious ceremonial scratching stick used by the *Kilipaniati kulama* initiate to scratch himself during the period when he is not allowed to do so with his hands.

Pl. 32H, J, are two burial poles, *tudinis*, which were erected on the grave. These will be described in Section 10.

9. THE MESSAGE STICKS

202 765 Message sticks, under the general name of *purunkita*, are used by the Tiwi for several purposes; personal requests to fellow tribesmen asking for presents or supplies (Fig. 5E); invitations to other groups to perform ceremonies (Fig. 5F, G, H), and in association with the *pukamuni* rituals.

When the ceremonial leader appointed the "workers" to cut the poles (p. 74), he also sent messengers carrying specially carved sticks (*purunkitas*) to each totemic group on Melville and Bathurst Islands, telling them when the final *pukamuni* rituals were about to start.

[301] [302] As each messenger neared his destination he painted himself entirely in white and donned his goose-feather ball, *tokwianga*, his chest ornaments,

[88] The lines of dots on *Wurarbuti* (frontispiece) were made with a *porta*.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

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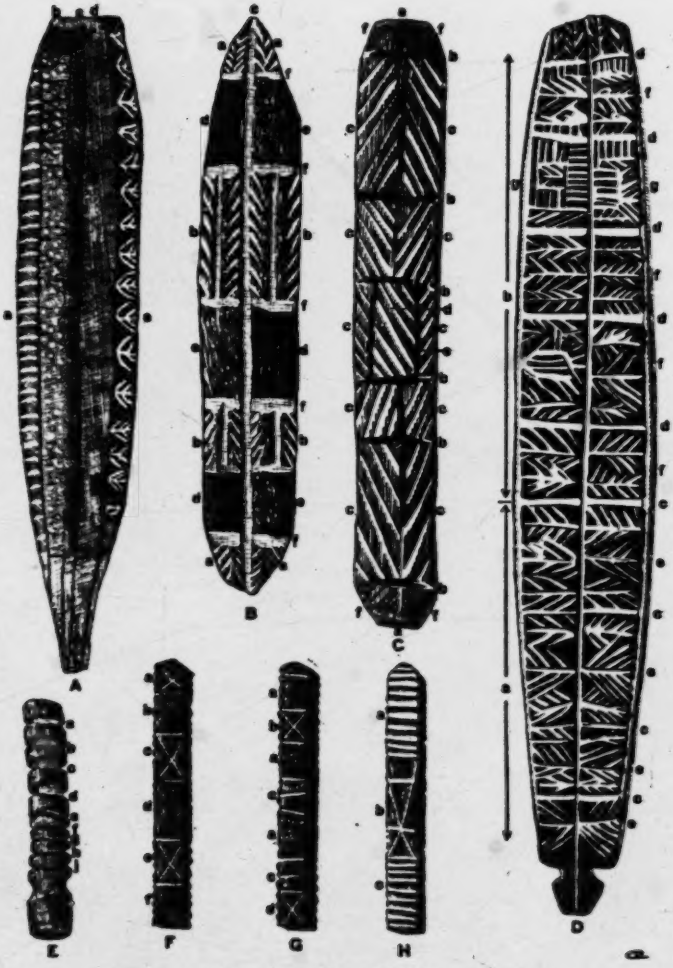

FIG. 5. *The Message Sticks*

A, Numanira; B, Puntubu; C, Murunupi; D, Pirilou; E, Secular; F, G, H, Pukamuni Ceremonial.

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

Notes on The

Personal Decoration.

Plaited armlets of vegetable fibre are worn on both arms, by both sexes, young and old. They are made of a number of central spiral turns of fibre, around which a single outer layer of flexible vegetable ribbon is plaited from either side and through the centre. The armlet is usually painted over with yellow ochre and is worn above the elbow.

Corrobboree-armlets are constructed in the shape of a flat ring of plaited vegetable fibre, from 10 to 20 centimetres in outside diameter (*vide* Plate XV, Figs. 4 and 6). The ring, which is from 2 to 3 centimetres wide and from a ¼ to ¾ centimetre thick, is neatly coloured on the outside with ochre in a regular fashion. From a point on the circumference depends a bundle of from seven to fifteen twisted strings of animal or human hair, 30 centimetres long, which ends in a flat oval mass of beeswax, studded on the outside with red seeds of the "gequirity" or so-called "Northern Territory bean" (*Abrus praecatorius*). A similar mass of beeswax and beans surrounds the point of attachment of this tassel.

Special corrobboree arm-decorations[1] are constructed on rather more elaborate lines. A piece of bark (*Eucalyptus sp.*), about 66 centimetres long and 10 broad, is bent once upon itself into a simple loop and the open end kept together by stitching the edges for a distance of some 12 centimetres down (*vide* Plate VII, Figs. 2 and 4). The united end is fenestrated; one oblong space (measuring 6 by 2 centimetres) is cut out some 3 centimetres from the top, and beneath this, at a similar distance from its lower edge, two squares, whose sides are equivalent in length to the smaller side of the oblong. The top end of the united portion, and the top and bottom edges of the oblong and squares, are hemmed with an overlapping crossstitch. One side edge only of the loop is hemmed with a simple backward and forward "run-on" stitch. The lateral edges of the windows and the septum between the lower squares are fixed by transverse winding. The material used for hemming and winding is a light cane obtained from a creeping plant. It is evident that the different methods of stitching have to do with the fibrous structure of the bark; the cross-thread would tend to keep the stitches from pulling out along the fibres, as would be the case in straight up-and-down stitching. Additional complexity is given the ornament by eight thin sticks (about 15 centimetres long) which are pointed at both ends. One of these is stuck vertically into the bark at either end of the top edge. Two others pierce the bark at right angles, immediately below the lower outer corner of each square window; one of them being just below that corner of each of the squares, respectively. At either end of these transverse pieces, another stick is fixed vertically by binding with vegetable string, at about 3 centimetres from the ends. The ornament is coloured on the outside with red and white earth-paints. The ground colour of the upper half is red; the hem stitches and the affixed sticks are white. The lower half, or looped portion, bears four white transverse bands

[1] Apparently also used during mourning ceremonies.

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

301 bordered with red. Each of the intervening spaces is again sub-divided into two
531 squares at the centre (and a "half-square" at the sides) by three vertical, white lines bordered with red. The squares and "half-squares" are shaded diagonally with from four to six lines passing downwards and away from the central line in the topmost group, and upwards and away from the centre in the two lower groups of
[171] squares. The combined effect resembles the windmill or "wanningi" pattern common throughout Australia. The shading is all in white on one side, but red and white in alternate squares on the opposite side.

301 In another type of this arm decoration, which is also made of bark, the upper
322 united portion is shorter than in the previous case (*vide* Plate VII, Figs. 1 and 3). The top edge is concave and only one oblong window is cut beneath it. The sides have been united by hem-stitching and by the insertion of a few wooden pins which answer the same purpose as rivets. The edges are thickly plastered with beeswax. As in the previous case, the stitches (and the plaster also) are continued only along one side of the loop. A fairly stout rod of wood projects vertically from either end of the top concave edge. Shorter rods project laterally from either top corner of the loop. To the end of each of these rods a plume of
[237 white is attached with beeswax. Cockatoo feathers have been chosen and they are
531] fastened by their distal ends so that the fluffy portions are exposed. A number of twisted strands of fur and vegetable fibre pass from the extremity of one horizontal rod diagonally upwards to the base of the vertical rod above, along it to the top, thence horizontally across to the top of the other vertical rod, whence it is continued the same way down the other side to the extremity of the opposite horizontal rod. Beeswax retains these strands in position at the rod-tops, while more strands, wound horizontally from the base of one vertical rod to the other, and also round the base of each, make the former strands secure there. The painted design in this
301 case consists of one large cruciform figure on either side of the looped portion, the
531 arms being modified at the base in a manner suggestive of a snake design. One arm of the cross is white, the other yellow, both being bordered with red. The intervening spaces are shaded red and yellow, the constituent lines being parallel and straight up-and-down in the upper segment and crossed in the lower.

532 *Corrobboree-mask.*—An interesting object is what I take to be a corrobboree-mask (*vide* Plate XV, Fig. 5). As I did not see it in use and did not receive the specimen until it was too late to make inquiries, I cannot, with certainty, describe it as such. The object represents an oval structure, 15 centimetres long and 8 wide, which encloses two connected circular rims resembling a solid pair of spectacles. The internal framework is made of split cane, bound together with vegetable strands. The oval portion is covered with human hair string, wound around it and knotted along the outer edge after the modern "button-hole-stitch" fashion. The rims are broad and covered with beeswax. A circle of the red beans of *Abrus praecatorius*, embedded in the wax, surrounds the "eye-holes" on the front side. At one of the lateral extremities, a band of five human hair strings emerges from a cylindrical mass of beeswax and is surrounded, at 6 centimetres distance,

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 O120 Tiwi O120

by a similar mass, whence two strings only continue for 40 odd centimetres. 532
The whole length of the band, therefore, amounts to approximately 50 centimetres. Its object is, no doubt, to fasten the mask in position over the face during corroboree ceremonies.

Domestic Utensils.

Food carriers.—The most common form of "mika" or carrier for food and 322
other articles is one made of a single piece of bark of the "stringy bark" eucalypt 415
(*vide* Plate VIII, Figs. 3, 4, 5, and 6). An oblong piece of such bark, say 1 metre long by 40 centimetres broad, is freshly cut and folded transversely at its centre. The edges on either side are pared down, then laid flat, one over the other, and sewn or laced together with plain "run-on" stitches, 2 centimetres apart. A row of slanting and overlapping stitches often skirts the open edge at a short distance down; occasionally, too, part of the edge is cross-hemstitched and plastered with beeswax. The object of this procedure is to prevent the bark from tearing by virtue of its fibrous structure. The open mouth of the carrier is nearly circular or oval; in the latter case the long axis of the oval runs at right angles to the base-edge of the implement. These carriers are of various sizes; the largest that came under observation measured 63 centimetres in height and 43 in width at the base. Ordinarily they are unpainted, but on special occasions elaborate designs, consisting 415
of circles, oblong and other figures, with cross-hatched shading, are drawn on the 531
outer surface in red, yellow, white, and black. The designs are best studied by reference to the reproductions (*vide* Plate VIII, Figs. 5 and 6). Occasionally tassel-shaped appendages are noticed at one of the convex outer surfaces of the mouth of the carrier. These consist of a flattish, egg-shaped mass of beeswax (studded on the surface with the red beans of *Abrus praecatorius*), which is suspended by two twisted fur strings (*vide* Plate VIII, Fig. 6).

Water carriers.—Water is taken to camp from a soakage or spring in simple [312]
structures made out of the bark of the paper-bark tree (*Melaleuca sp.*). An oblong 322
piece of this bark is bent upon itself longitudinally, both its ends folded several 415
times and kept together by binding with cane or by spiking with short pointed wooden pegs (*vide* Plate VIII, Figs. 1 and 2).

Drinking vessels.—Several natural objects are used for drinking vessels. 415
Among the most common are the discarded tests of mollusca. The species *Melo-* [237]
diadema and *Fusus pricei* were found in use at several native wells (*vide* Plate XIV, Figs. 1 and 2).

But when no such shells are available a piece of bark is torn or cut from a 322
tree (usually from a *Melaleuca*) and folded so as to form a water-tight cup (*vide* 415
Plate XIV, Figs. 3 and 4). This piece of bark, which measures about 30 centimetres by 20, is folded longitudinally at about its middle (*vide* Fig. 3, D). Both ends are then bent upon themselves at right angles to this plane and at about one quarter the whole length from either end. The overturned ends and the inner

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

classification on account of the regularity of the various types, not only as regards the actual cutting of the particular form, but also as regards the way in which they are decorated (*vide* Plate IX, Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4).

Type 1.—The simplest type seen in use is a stick, 43 or 47 centimetres long, usually more or less curved, thin at the hand-end, gradually thickening upwards and swelling to a club-head at the distal end. The surface is longitudinally furrowed, the result of scraping. The stick is painted on special occasions in various colours, as follows: hand-end red or brown (25 cm.), thence successive circular bands of yellow (·5 cm.), white (1 cm.), red (·25 cm.), black (3 cm.), red (·25 cm.), yellow (1 cm.), white (·25 cm.), red (4 cm.), yellow (·5 cm.); club-head white (*vide* Plate IX, Fig. 1).

Type 2.—The second type to be described is somewhat similar. It measures 60 centimetres in length and is usually straight. Whereas in the previous type the club-head is rounded off at its distal end, it ends with a blunt point in the case now before us. The club-head, too, is larger in proportion. The surface is scraped longitudinally and painted in alternate bands of red and white of different breadths. From the hand-end upwards the coloured bands are as follows: red (19 cm.), white (10 cm.), red (8 cm.), white (23 cm.) (*vide* Plate IX, Fig. 3).

Type 3.—The third type is slender and thickens very gradually from the hand- to the club-end, whence a sharp spine projects for 2 centimetres. It is scraped longitudinally and painted in rather more elaborate fashion than the two foregoing types. The hand-end is red for a distance of about 30 centimetres; thence follow successively bands of yellow (1 cm.), white (6 cm.), red (1 cm.), black (4 cm.), yellow (1 cm.). The club-head is white with two longitudinal yellow bands at opposite extremes of a diameter, dividing it into two halves vertically. Within each of the white fields thus produced are two intersecting, undulating lines, one of red and one of yellow, running longitudinally and terminating in the spine at the top, which is red (*vide* Plate IX, Fig. 2).

Type 4.—This type consists of a stick, circular in section, which increases slightly in diameter from the hand-end upwards, for a distance of 55 centimetres. The diameter at that distance is 3½ centimetres, but immediately beyond, the stick slopes abruptly to a thickness of only 1½ centimetres, whence it tapers to a long pointed end, about 20 centimetres long. The stick is painted in red, yellow, and white, as follows: the hand-end is red for 23 centimetres, thence follow bands of white (1 cm.), yellow (8 cm.), red (1 cm.), white (12 cm.), red (1 cm.), yellow (8 cm.), red (1 cm.). The extreme end of the stick and the long spine are white (*vide* Plate IX, Fig. 4).

The two last-described types have, to my knowledge, not been observed in Australia before.

Spears.

In dealing with the spears used on Bathurst Island (and the same holds good for Melville Island), we are brought into contact with types that are unknown on

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

They are occasionally coloured and decorated with ochre, some of the designs being very pleasing to the eye. Some spears, moreover, have human 411
hair strings wound round the shaft, immediately below the head, for a distance of [531]
10 centimetres or more, and this is kept in place with beeswax.

Canoes.

Elsewhere I have referred to the marked absence among the northern 501
Australian tribes of anything but the most primitive crafts and such innovated forms as have resulted from the contact with the white and yellow races. They are, therefore, not to be considered as truly indigenous canoes. On Bathurst Island, however, conditions are different; due, perhaps, in the first place, to its insularity (as well as the numerous estuaries and rivers that cross [133]
the land), and, secondly, to the proximity of Melville Island, which is separated from it by only a narrow stretch of calm water known as Apsley Strait. The latter is barely a mile in width at its narrowest points. Numerous canoes are in use within this Strait, and occasionally, when wind and water are favourable, they venture a short distance out to sea. One type is principally in use, namely, a large bark-canoe measuring about 560 centimetres in length (*vide* Plate X, Figs. 1 and 2). It is made of a single sheet of bark, usually from suitable, straight, clear 396
trunks of the woollybutt (*Eucalyptus miniata*) or the stringy-bark (*E. tetradonta*) 501
(*vide* Plate XII, Fig. 1). It is cut from the tree by chopping transversely at the respective distances from the ground, then slitting it once vertically for the whole length and removing it by forcing the edge of the instrument under the bark and finally levering it off with pointed saplings. The outer side of this oblong piece of bark, which is rough, will become the inside surface of the canoe. At a distance of from 65 to 70 centimetres from either end, transverse cuts are made on the inside to a depth of half the thickness of the bark, and such thickness is removed from the whole of the surface lying away from the centre at either incision. Each end is thus reduced by half its original strength and material thereby becoming more pliable. The cutting is done with the sharp edge of a [237 412]
bivalve shell, usually a *Cyrena*. The subtilized ends of the sheet may, or may not, be held over a glowing fire to render them more pliant still. The sheet is folded lengthwise along its middle, and one or both ends kept together by vertical stakes, stuck in the ground and tied together at the top. The bottom corner of the fold is cut away in a very gentle upward slope. The two pieces of the fold are next held firmly together and cut in a more decisive upward direction from a point some 30 to 50 centimetres from the bottom edge end. The two freshly cut edges are neatly sewn with close, overcast stitches, and the same is done along the top horizontal edge for a distance of some 15 or 20 centimetres from the end. From the intervening space between the sewn parts at the top and bottom, an angular or curved segment is cut out in imitation of a fish-tail and its edges laced together in a like manner (*vide* Plate XI, Figs. 1 and 2). The thread used for these "run-on" stitches is in the form of strips from the split sheets of the

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

396
501 climbing palm (*Calamus Australis*).[1] Holes are previously pierced through the
[237 bark with an awl, made out of the leg-bone of a wallaby.
412]

The stitches are made more secure and watertight by plastering them with
[237 wax from the comb of the wild bee (*Trigona sp.*) or with one of the several resins
314] so extensively used by all natives. The inside corners are caulked with plastic clay and fibre, or resin. Two stays or struts of fairly stout timber, cut to the required length and inserted at the points where the bark was reduced to half its thickness, keep the sides of the canoe apart. From these points, therefore, the sides of the canoe converge to the bow at one end and to the stern at the other; while in between they are more or less parallel. The canoe, if there be any difference at all, is wider aft (74 cm.) than it is nearer the bow (55 cm.); the "fish-tail" incision, too, is acute and deep at the bow and more rounded and shallow at the stern (*vide* Plate XI, Figs. 1 and 2). Along the top, inner, edge of either side of the canoe, a straight strengthening pole is lashed with distant, unequally-spaced and grouped "run on" stitches of cane-strips. These structures lend considerable rigidity to the gunwale of the canoe; they do not extend throughout the whole length, but, being straight, are more or less parallel one to another, and do not enclose the stern or bow. Major Campbell,[2] in referring to the bark canoes seen by him while at Fort Dundas, states that "the gunwales are strengthened by two small saplings (such as grow in marshy places) fastened together at each end of the canoe." This method is more like that in use on the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria to-day and was not observed on the islands by me. Long shoots of vines and strips of cane are wound crosswise from side to side of the canoe, and at the same time take in the strengthening-poles along the gunwale. Additional circumferential winding binds the separate cords into one thick rope. Four of such ties are spanned at equal distances, from one side to the other, along the straight edges of the canoe. They not only preserve its shape, but afford a ready means by which the craft may be carried.

501 The canoe is not decorated in any way, but smears of various colours are
[531] noticed both at the bow and the stern, resulting from the handling by fingers previously occupied in decorative work with ochre. When not in use the canoes are "housed" on a level piece of ground, under the overhanging branches of a shady banyan or guttapercha tree. They are laid in normal upright position (not inverted), and are kept so by short supports of timber stemmed against the sides. The bark thus dries in the required shape and does not become lop-sided.

Each canoe has its recognized place. Where a dense growth of mangroves
[487] skirts the foreshore, a regular approach to the water is kept clear by cutting away the trees. The paddles are laid within the canoes.

Quite a large number of natives may be carried in a canoe, if the occasion

[1] Compare narrative of Mr. Carron in MacGillivray's *Narrative Voyage H.M.S. "Rattlesnake,"* 1852, vol. ii, pp. 125 and 126; also P. P. King: *Narrative Survey Intertropical Western Coasts of Australia*, London, 1827, vol. i, p. 90.

[2] *Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, London, vol. iv, 1834, p. 156.

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

demands it; but usually, when on a simple turtle or dugong hunting expedition, two persons only occupy places in the craft, one near the bow and another near the stern (*vide* Plate X, Figs. 1 and 2). The boatmen, while propelling the craft, squat with their buttocks resting upon the heels and with their knees pressed against the sides. The weight of their body being thus well within the boat, its stability is thereby considerably increased.

Paddles.—Propulsion is effected by means of paddles which are made of hard wood. They have a single well-shaped blade and a rounded handle (*vide* Plate XII, Fig. 2). The edges of the blade are parallel or taper slightly towards the end, which is square or rounded. Apart from the marks left by the tomahawk used in its making, the implement is without ornamentation. In one case only, a circular collar was carved around the handle, immediately above the sloping shoulder of the blade. The longest paddle noted measured 167 centimetres in length, its blade 80; the shortest was 115 centimetres in length and its blade 45. The width of the blades ranges from 7 to 9 centimetres. Both hands clasp the paddle, which is dipped alternately on one side or the other as the occasion and the steering require it.

Balers.—Water that accumulates in the canoe, either by leakage or overwash in a rough sea, is removed by means of a baler which is made out of the melon shell[1] (*Melo diadema*). The columella of the shell is carefully cut away, leaving only the large body-whorl, which is used as a scoop (*vide* Plate XI, Figs. 3 and 4). The outer surface of the shell is painted with red and yellow ochre in large cross pattern, with a fine cross shading.

Dug-outs.—The dug-out canoes to which I have elsewhere referred[2] have, in all probability, been introduced by Malays from whom the natives obtain them by barter. Dr. Walter Roth has also proved that the dug-outs met with along the coast of Queensland are of Papuan origin. The form observed in Apsley Strait is without outrigger and hollowed out of a single tree trunk. The bow and stern are raised (*vide* Plate X, Fig. 2).

Corrobborees.

As with all primitive folk, song and dance constitute the ultimate stage of any social intercourse or festivity. The islanders are even more ready than their brothers on the mainland to resort to this means of entertainment. It thus happened that, wherever we came into contact with the blacks and presented them with divers small articles, a corrobboree was immediately inaugurated; even though the encounter happened to occur in the middle of the day. Corrobborees on the

[1] *Cf. Narrative Voyage H.M.S. "Rattlesnake,"* vol. ii, p. 17: "the baler (a melon shell) is in constant requisition."

[2] *Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Australia*, vol. xxxi, 1907, p. 53. Among others, note that Major Campbell says of the Port Essington natives that "such of the canoes as I saw were hollowed from the trunks of trees, like those of the Malays and were probably either left by these people or stolen from them," *Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, London, vol. iv, 1834, p. 170.

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

171 177 412

When Captain King[1] dropped anchor in Apsley Strait in 1818, and came into contact with natives near Luxmore Head on Melville Island, he noticed that "they repeatedly asked for axes by imitating the action of chopping."

171 764 532

Ethnologically these tomb-posts are of the greatest importance. With the exception of the records left by Jukes and MacGillivray, we know of nothing of the kind existing nowadays on the mainland. That, however, the inhabitants of some of the Torres Strait islands adopt methods of preserving the memory of their dead by means of painted and decorated structures of a different type is an established fact. The Continental Australian certainly, also, has methods of his own to mark a place of burial, but in a decidedly more transitory and less laborious way. The latter leaves already existing belongings of the deceased upon the grave; the islander, in addition, surrounds the spot with specially prepared posts such as have been described herein. Apart from the carvings, the painted designs, alone, are quite superior to anything existing on the mainland. The marked symmetry of the individual patterns and their diversity, when compared with one another, can hardly find a parallel on the mainland. We might look upon these island productions as representing interesting and independent transition stages between the primitive art of the Continental Australian, on the one hand, and the more perfected types of equatorial island tribes to the north of Australia, on the other.

APPENDIX.

NATIVE OCHRE DRAWINGS ON BARK FROM MELVILLE ISLAND, NORTHERN TERRITORY OF AUSTRALIA.

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While visiting Bathurst Island in 1911, I also entered several of the inlets of Melville Island from Apsley Strait. At one point, not far from the southern entrance to the Strait, where some aborigines were living in huts near to Cooper's Buffalo-Shooters Camp, I found the drawings here described. They were upon sheets of bark of the Woollybutt (*Eucalyptus miniata*), used for building their shelters and huts. All drawings are in pipe-clay and red ochre; these materials having been smeared or squirted on to the bark in the form of a thin paste or in aqueous suspension. Typical among the drawings of the aboriginals on the mainland are the negative imprints of hands produced by holding the palm of the hand flat against the surface and squirting a mouthful of pipe-clay or ochre, suspended in water, against the back of the hand and around it. The surrounding surface is thus coloured so that, when the hand is removed, its outline stands out conspicuously by the absence of colour.[2]

[1] *Survey of the Intertropical Coasts of Australia*, 1837, vol. i, pp. 111 and 121.

[2] *Vide* Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Australia, 1907, vol. xxxi, p. 56, Plate XII. Among other references note E. Giles, *Australia Twice Traversed*, 1889, vol. i, p. 78. "The drawing is done

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

The first plate reproduced contains a group composed of five imprints of the left hand of a native (Plate XIX, Fig. 1). The fingers are wide apart; the wrists of the two lowest hands seem very narrow in proportion, but that is due to the fact that they did not lie in close contact with the surface when the pigment was squirted against it.

In the lower corner on the right of the reproduction stands a single-masted sailing craft, intended to represent a small European pearling or fishing-boat. The former class of boats have long been in the habit of passing through Apsley Strait on account of the shelter afforded and the chances of procuring fresh water close to the shores of either island.

Plate XIX, Fig. 2, is the lower continuation of the proceeding. The sailing craft just described is noticed on the right. Below it is the picture of a frog. Special features of this design are firstly the two circular lateral prominences on the head representing the large eyes and, secondly, the inaccuracy in regard to the number of toes. The smear on the left hind leg, resembling a caudal appendage, is accidental.

The fourth design (Plate XX) is that of a double-masted pearling-lugger[1] in full sail. The proportion and neatness of execution of these designs of sailing crafts are excellent indeed. The hulk and sails of the latter figure are drawn in white pipe-clay and its masts in red ochre.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

Plate VII.

Figs. 1 and 3. Front and side view of arm decoration, made of bark, coloured with ochre and ornamented with fur strings and cockatoo feathers. ⅓ natural size.

Figs. 2 and 4. Front and side view of arm decoration, made of bark, coloured with ochre and ornamented with pointed sticks. ⅓ natural size.

Plate VIII.

Figs. 1 and 2. Water-carriers, made of paper-bark (*Melaleuca*). ⅓ natural size.

Figs. 3, 4, 5 and 6. Food-carriers, made of bark; Figs. 5 and 6 with ochre drawings. ⅓ natural size.

Plate IX.

Figs. 1, 2, 3 and 4. Throwing-sticks and clubs. ⅓ natural size.

Fig. 5. A collection of spears from Bathurst Island. $\frac{1}{15}$ natural size.

by filling the mouth with charcoal powder if the device is to be black, if red with red ochre powder, damping the wall where the mark is to be left, and placing the palm of the hand against it, with fingers stretched out; the charcoal or ochre powder is then blown against the back of the hand; when it is withdrawn, it leaves the space occupied by the hand and fingers clean while the surrounding portions of the wall are all black or red, as the case may be." (Central Australian Natives.)

[1] *Vide* figure in *Report Government Geologist and Staff*, 1905, Adelaide, By authority, p. 14.

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

PLATE XVII.

Fig. 1. Coloured ornament of grave-post No. 5a (Plate VIII) shown in plan; modified forms of the human figure are embodied. 532 764

Fig. 2. Coloured ornament of grave-post No. 5c (Plate VIII) shown in plan.

PLATE XVIII.

Fig. 1. Coloured ornament of grave-post No. 5c (Plate VIII) shown in plan. 532

Fig. 2. Coloured ornament of grave-post No. 5d (Plate VIII) shown in plan. 764

PLATE XIX.

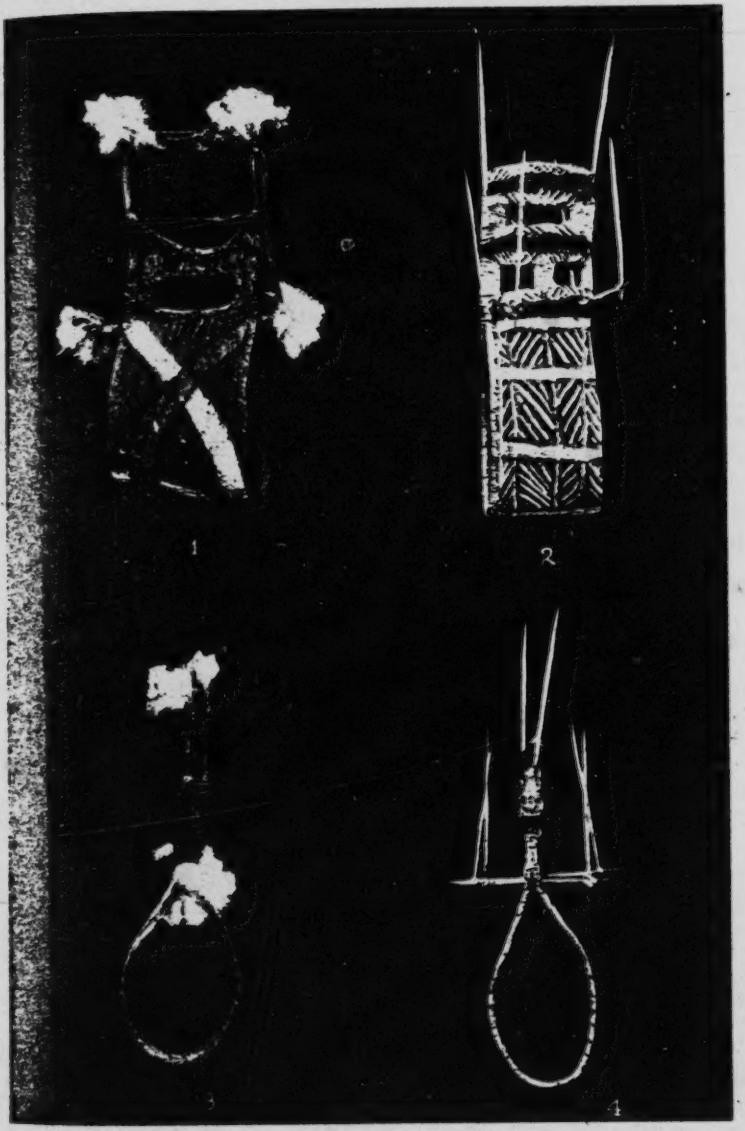
Pipe-clay drawings on a sheet of bark of the stringy-barked eucalyptus (*E. tetradonta*), from a native hut on Melville Island. The plate includes negative imprints of hands (Fig. 1), and drawings of a sailing craft (Figs. 1 and 2), and of a frog (Fig. 2). ¼ natural size. 531 532

PLATE XX.

Pipe-clay drawing of pearling lugger in full sail; bark from a native hut on Melville Island. About ¼ natural size. 532

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

301
J31



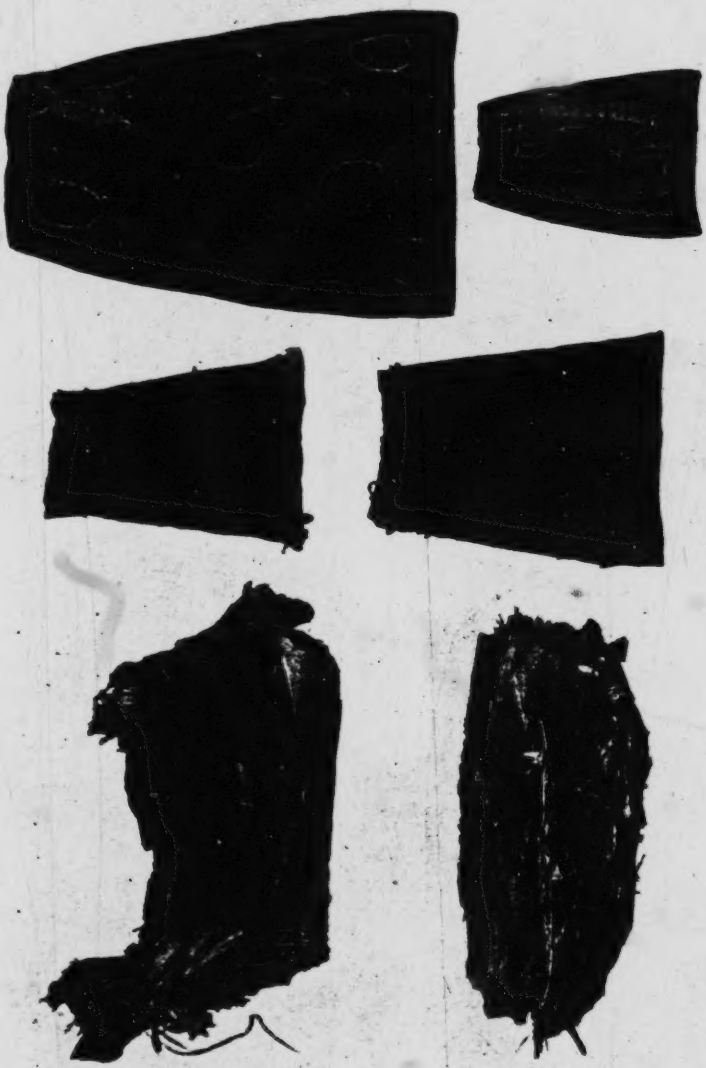
NOTES ON THE NATIVES OF BATHURST ISLAND, NORTH AUSTRALIA.

[END PLATE I]

[FOR EXPLANATION OF PLATE SEE p. 321 - ANALYST]

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

415
531

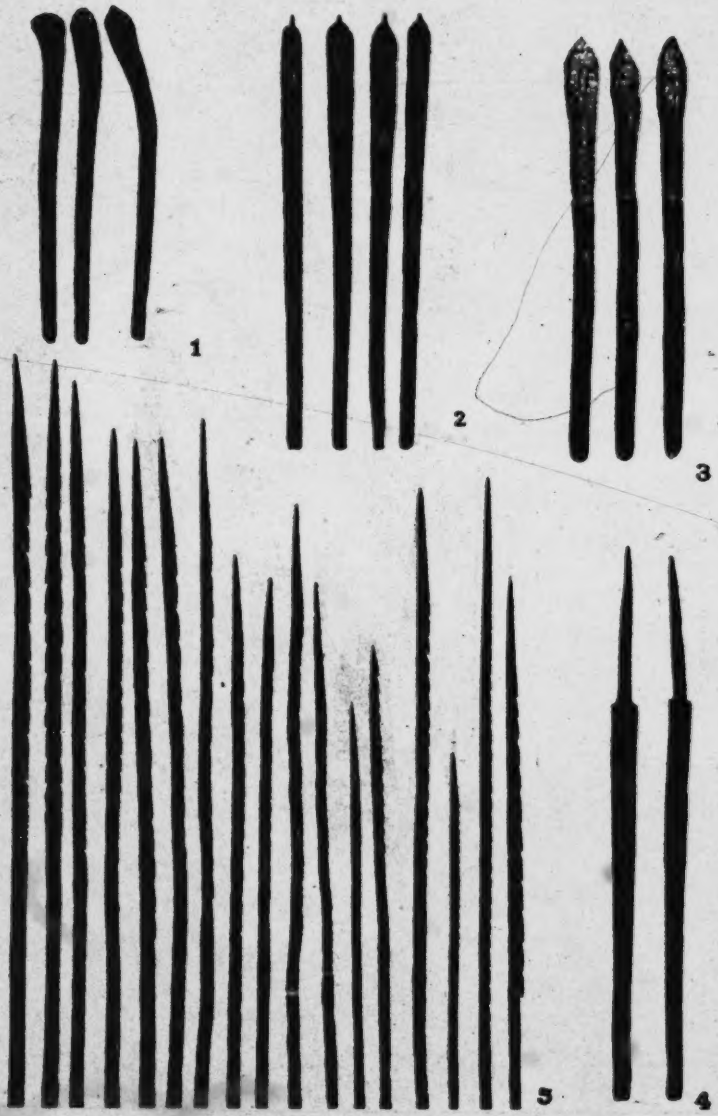


[END PLATE 2]

[FOR EXPLANATION OF PLATE SEE P. 321]

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

411
531



NOTES ON THE NATIVES OF BATHURST ISLAND, NORTH AUSTRALIA.

[END PLATE 3]

[FOR EXPLANATION OF PLATE SEE p. 321 - ANALYST]

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

531
532

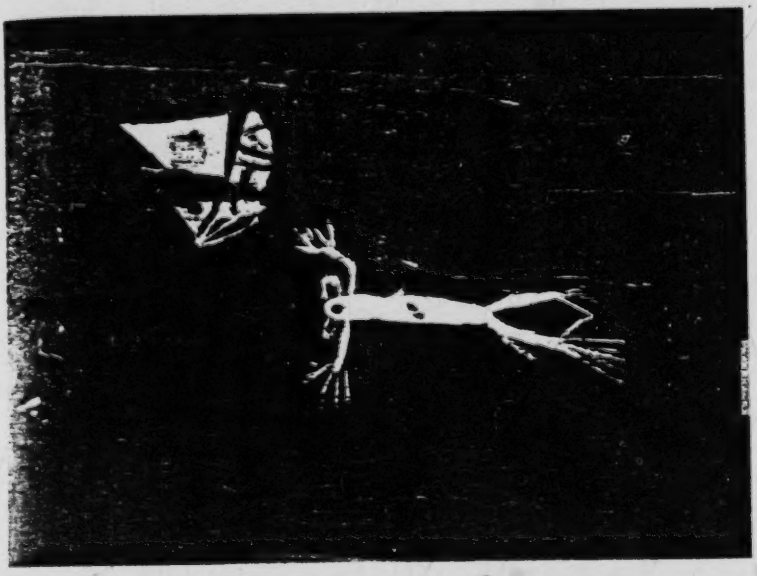


FIG. 2

FIG. 1.

NOTES ON THE NATIVES OF BATHURST ISLAND, NORTH AUSTRALIA.

[END PLATE 13]

[FOR EXPLANATION SEE p. 323 — ANALYST]